1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

middle of the forehead, the back hair hanging to the nape, and earlocks hanging to the point of the jaw. When he was five or six, it was let grow, hanging free all around, and when he was fifteen or so, he began to form it in long braids behind. Small girls wore it trimmed short all over the head. Hair was always singed, never cut off.

The hair was frequently dressed with boiled black mesquite bark to make it glossy and presumably to rid it of vermin. The long back hair was twisted in a knot on the fore part of the crown and plastered with this concoction, which when dry looks like grey mud. This presumably is the "clay" of the early observers. This could be brushed out of the hair. Yucca root was not used for washing the hair as in the more northerly parts of the Southwest; in fact, the plant was said not to grow south of the mountains occupied by the Yavapai.

The hairbrush was a bundle of stiff fibers bent at their middles and bound together. The fresh roots of a tall grass (ŏxtci', which is also the name of the hairbrush or any brush) were laid side by side, bound for some distance at the middle, bent in two, bound again, and the ends trimmed. The inner bark of willow or mesquite was used for binding since these, being sticky, held the fibers tightly. Such brushes were five or six inches long. The open loop of these brushes (Pl. IV, *c*) was quite characteristic.

A well-dressed man wore eagle down attached by a short string to his back hair. In default of down, an eagle feather was used. An old man who saw a little boy without this adornment would be perturbed and would scurry about until he had procured it for the lad. Last Star thought there must have been some special significance to wearing this, but did not know what it might be. Of course, eagle feathers had first to be purified by a shaman (one who dreamed of the eagle or buzzard) before they might be worn.

Hats were not worn, nor, in all probability, did many men wear headbands. A feather bonnet (kapu'ʀ)[19] was sometimes worn by men to signify the wearer's bravery. This was a hood of

[19] Doubtfully from Spanish *capucha, capota;* compare Havasupai pŭt, "hat," "headband," kápŭ'dlvà, "wearing a hat."

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

P R 266 727 R [783] they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

P 266 727 Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

R 756 727 787 Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

R 727 766 Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

P R 173 726 On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukâvl'k tatâpoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

Shamans performed their feats at these celebrations.

In times of starvation they would go to other tribes to sing for them in order to receive gifts. The Pima also came in this fashion when they knew the Maricopa had plenty. Several days before the Maricopa set out they sent one of their number to the host village, provided with as many sticks as there were families intending to visit. A Pima man, acting for the hosts, collected an identical number to aid his memory. After the group arrived, these two told off each Maricopa family to the care of a Pima household. The latter would feed them in the evening and after the meal all gathered to dance. During the dance the Pima made gifts to their visitors: beads, baskets, bundles of mesquite beans or wheat, great jugs of sahuaro syrup, horses, and cattle. After their return the Maricopa would trade these among themselves until each had what he lacked.[2]

The Mountain Killdeer song had two disparate performances associated with it; one a display of power, the other a dance. In the display according to Kutox, the singer caused models of butterflies to flutter in time to his tune. A circular, roofless enclosure of willow poles was built, walled in with leafy branches. Across the top ran a series of parallel strings along which many yellow butterflies, cut out of mountain sheep skin, were tied. The singer sat at the center of the enclosure, which was about twenty feet in diameter and seven feet high. Others also sat within it to help him sing. As he sang, he beat on an inverted basket with one hand, scraping a stick (a foot long) on it with the other. "This made the butterflies look as though they were fluttering, as though they were dancing." This was simply a feat, not for curing.

The dance form coupled with the Mountain Killdeer song was used in the war dance (the performance preparatory to setting out to war), but also on other occasions. At the latter, Pima attended and a clown took part. Again the singer was seated. The dancers remained in hiding until he began to beat his basket: they then came forward in single file. Ten girls and ten young

[2] I was not told of the guest assuming the host's name, as recorded by Russell (*Pima Indians*, p. 171).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

A second cave, also difficult of access, was halfway up the eastern face of a little butte south of Tempe: called kumpa'n, lkn,iva', "Bat's house." "There must be a spirit there, the bat." Lying in the cave were stubs of reed cigarettes of varying length, some old, some new, each was plugged with a wad of cotton and contained a white powder which could be smoked.[4] Most men dared not touch these, but if a man smoked one, he would either die right there or dream of something to become a shaman. (An instance in which this was done by Papago Foot is cited below.) There was also thought to be a gourd rattle in the dirt of the cave floor. But no ordinary man could find it; only an especially favored shaman, one who dreamed of the spirit. He would replace it where he found it.

Visions (as distinguished from dreams) were not had by the Maricopa. The only instance of a vision experience was recounted in a war tale, which follows. Here the spirit birds act as they do in dreams, condescend to pity the visionary and give him ability to perform an otherwise impossible feat. But the vision does not take the stereotyped form of the dream experience.

This happened to a Maricopa who was born two months after the stars fell [1833] and who died just over a year ago. He went to fight the Yuma when he was fifteen years old (1848–49). He never said whether he had had any dreams of these birds before this experience.

He started with his father and his father's younger brother. All three rode horses. There were more than one hundred on foot and as many horsemen. When they crossed the Colorado, he was told they would let the footmen go ahead because they were armed with clubs. The whole Yuma tribe gathered clustered into a space of three acres. There were women and children fighting on the Yuma side. When there were only forty or fifty Maricopa left, surrounded by Yuma, the waiting horsemen decided to charge. They were armed, some with bows, some with clubs. The Yuma beat some down, dragged them off their horses and killed them. This man did not know how he ever got through the crowd without being hurt. Only a few horsemen were left, but they decided to charge back through the Yuma once more. He did not know what had happened to his father and uncle. He escaped and raced away through the thick willows. The paths were so narrow that people had to go single file. As he was going through, he heard two Yuma coming toward him on the path, so he hid himself in the bushes until they passed. Then he went on to the river. He did not return by the way they had crossed. He had a shirt of woven cotton, which he took off and tied on top of his head. He got on his horse and entered the water. Just as

[4] In this connection it must be noted that these were not Maricopa offerings. They made no offerings to spirits nor planted prayer plumes.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

776 825 Birds mentioned as spirits—there may have been others—were mocking bird, an orange shouldered blackbird, buzzard, eagle, horned owl, crow, killdeer, "mountain killdeer,"[7] and duck. Among birds "one does not hear in dreams" were roadrunner, hawks, and crane (heron?). Animals named as spirits were deer, coyote, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, dog, frog, and possibly bat. Certain spirit coyotes created by Coyote (as recounted in the Coyote tale, p. 355) were also dreamed. The four insect spirits named are partially identifiable: cricket, gnat (?) small flies (kumanyihwi'), and xalkwata't. Fish were also dreamed of. In addition there were the local mountains, thunder and lightning, rain (?), the morning star, the constellation Orion's Belt, and two spirits of unknown identity, cĭl,aitcuwa'n, and kukupu'ra.

776 787 The powers conferred by these spirits were always specific, despite the fact that several gave powers of more than one kind. Some of the powers were obviously more impressive than others, but why Kutox signaled Eagle and Buzzard as the most important spirit birds is obscure. Last Star stated that Coyote was the [756] most important: "Every shaman who cures always mentions Coyote, Buzzard, and Horned Owl. Coyote and Buzzard could teach the cure for a number of diseases [not specified] and would select various men for each. Although Eagle is a strong bird, none of the shamans seem to dream of him; he is never mentioned in their songs."

756 776 787 Curing powers were associated with certain spirits. Horned Owl alone cured soul loss caused by dreaming of a dead relative. An insect, xalkwata't,[8] and Coyote gave power to cure any illness. "Every shaman who dreamed of xalkwata't claimed he was head of all these animals, the best one living." The power of Coyote [773] was derived from his having recovered from every known disease at the time of creation (see p. 351). A shaman with Coyote power was exceptional in that he never sang in public for entertainment. A shaman with this power needed only ride a horse to

[7] Looks like a small killdeer but lacks black stripes on its throat: possibly the mountain plover.

[8] As large as the thumb, which lives in the ditches.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman, with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Yavapai poisoned arrows (matàðau', "poisoned," "bewitched"). Duck and Gnat (ʔ unyĭpáwa'páwa') were mentioned as additional spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Further, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was forbidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,[9] but gave primarily his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see below).

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, bewitching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer. Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer "because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married women rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer." Mocking Bird made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers dreamed of him. A spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain. One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale (p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior, first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do

[9] The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause all or nearly all sickness.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

Salt-Gila junction (but curiously enough called xagâvĭcâðo', "water divider"; possibly an outlier of the Sierra Estrella). The Salt River Range was known as "greasy mountain" (vikwaxa's) as the scene of the incident in the Creation tale where Coyote finished eating the culture hero's heart and wiped his greasy hands. "They thought of these four mountains as their own because they lived between them. They were not safe beyond these limits." However, certain mountains beyond these were selected as of the same nature: ᵃvikatcâkwi'n,â, "granary basket mountain," the Mohawk Mountains halfway down the Gila; vi'iðo', "willow mountain," south of Prescott; another lying northeast of this, called viakâvânau', "ridge pole mountain," because of its level top; and 'ikwĭmkwima'tc, "dancing with horns," somewhat to the east of the last. "The people long ago called these mountains theirs." Four Peaks in Yavapai country, a mountain near Yuma (called vial,xa", "berdache mountain"), and the sacred mountain of the Mohave (vikwâme') near Needles also had spirit qualities.

The most significant of these were Pima Butte and the Sierra Estrella. The former (viva'vâ, "solitary mountain") figures very much like the sacred mountain Avikwame for the Mohave, or the San Francisco Peaks for the Havasupai. "They praise this little butte because when a man begins to dream, the spirits always take him there first."[10] It is famous even among the Mohave and Yuma." This butte and another south of it were thought to fight with Four Peaks and another mountain on its north side. These represented respectively the Maricopa and the Yuma-Mohave-Yavapai. Depending on which pair of mountains won, so it would fare with humans. A better expression of mountains as partisans is the following.

The man who dreams of war says the Sierra Estrella owns the Maricopa, Pima and Papago: Four Peaks owns the Yavapai. These two are always debating. When Four Peaks wins the debate this one (Sierra Estrella) mourns. Then Four Peaks is happy; he sings and dances, for his people will win in battle.

[10] I understood Last Star to state that a shaman was always first taken to a high hill (called matâu'lgwĭsiðe"c, "high dirt that is a shaman") on the north bank of the Gila, opposite Pima Butte. This is an insignificant hill; hence I was presumably mistaken.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

533 787 [535] not dream it; he merely danced it again." The probability is that, of the songs in use at any one time, some were recognized as dreamed, others learned, with the assumption that singers of the latter would ultimately dream their songs as well. Obviously the Maricopa were minimizing the actual learning of the highly stylized songs, traditional or borrowed, in favor of their theory of dream origin.

177 533 The tribal song repertory must have been fluctuating, due to intertribal diffusion and to death of the singers. Borrowing of songs on a wholesale scale is demonstrable among the Yumans and their neighbors, as Kroeber and Herzog have pointed out.[14] According to my own information various songs of the Maricopa and their guest tribes on the Gila were obtained from sources outside. Songs were dropped on the death of their singers. At [768] the cremation of a singer the mourners sang his songs, "only four of them," and then burned the gourd or basket drum he had used as accompaniment. By doing so they held the songs have been destroyed. The song lay fallow as it were until it was resurrected [787] by a new dreamer. Two instances were given: Eagle was dreamed by a man who sang it once or twice and died. "They sang it no more." Dragonfly was "started again," but sung only a few times: the singer died. Recently they sang a man's favorite songs at his cremation, whether or not he had been a singer, and within a month or two began to sing them again.

Occasions for the use of songs were numerous. Not only were they in use at all social celebrations and dances, but provided incidental entertainment at evening gatherings in the meeting house when topics for discussion were exhausted. At such times [756] shamans, almost without exception, sang their curing songs by way of entertainment. (So stated Kutox, but Last Star declared such songs were held secret for actual curing.) Some of these [527] festivities recurred with annual regularity; for instance, the dances when the wheat came up in February and at the harvest of August–September, or at the sahuaro drinking bout in mid-June. Others were at irregular intervals during the year; at races and games. In times of starvation they went to other tribes

[14] *Loc. cit.*

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

and sang for them, receiving gifts in return. War and scalp dances, puberty ceremonies for girls, and bee-killing ordeals for boys were other occasions. Songs, of course, were used in curing and at the cremation and mourning rites. The impression is that singing and dancing was very frequent, although ritual dancing was wholly unknown to the Maricopa and their associates.

The list in Table VII embraces all songs known to two informants, Kutox and Last Star. In addition to songs of the local tribes (that is, the mixed group of the Maricopa community), it contains their responses to the names of the Yuman song series noted by Kroeber.[15] They rarely hesitated in ascribing a song to a particular tribe (although they may not always have been correct) and their evidence, obtained independently, was rarely contradictory. It is significant how frequently their identifying remarks duplicated those furnished by Kroeber. I have thought it advisable to give here the song names from Kroeber's list used as cues in order to show what evoked their responses. It should be pointed out that these songs and song-series had recognized names, titles in our sense.

The following notes on songs were recorded.

Blackbird was the proper name of the song about Deer, "because the man who dreamed of the Orange Shouldered Blackbird could cure any sickness derived from the Deer." One who dreamed of Deer would always sing, but he was too shy, "too cowardly," to sing before others. He had several men who sang with him, and would gradually let his voice drop, leaving the others to sing. "He did this because deer is the principal food; hence this man would fear being killed by other shamans." He also cured.

Buzzard told "all about the creation"; how the culture hero appeared and acted when he sickened; of his cremation, and how the people dispersed in the desert and settled in their historic homes. At the war dance, there were formed two opposing lines of men and women alternately, with the singer in the middle of

[Text continues on page 263.]

[15] *Handbook*, pp. 755 f., 786. Kroeber lists as Maricopa songs according to Maricopa information: Salt, Deer, Taris (i.e., Killdeer), Buzzard, and Mockingbird. The last alone was not mentioned by my informants.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

one line, supported by a man on each side, all three with rattles. The lines moved backward and forward. It was also sung at the scalp dance, and in general, at times of rejoicing; always with a gourd rattle accompaniment. 533 535

The recorded text of one song of this series follows.[16] Below each line of text is given the equivalent in normal speech; other words and elements are meaningless, being inserted merely to carry the song. 533 539 [129]

xaiłnyi kǫ̊ṇai'yumi'ṇyik,aviyǒ'nak,amiyǒm
miviya'k
He went crying

Repeat this line twice.

akuṇpiṇyipǫ̊ṇ'aiva'	xatcu'akwĭsə̆a'		kumaṇaṇaxai	xima'ṇalyǒṇaxuta
pipa	xatcu'akwĭsə̆a's		maxai	mĭl,axo'c
a person	cold weather taking		boy	wing

akuuva'ṇapa'na	anyu	miniə̆au	tcaiyă'mavi'ya	
kuvàpa'nan		ə̆au	tcaiyĭ'mg viyak	
end [of wing]		take	send it away	on its way

Free rendering: "He went crying. The boy-bird, Taking-cold, sent his wing tip on its way." Taking-cold was the name of an unidentified bird, which arrives in this area about October. He figures here as a person, a boy. Buzzard went along crying, because he was not fast enough to bring back what he desired. (What it was Last Star did not know.) The bird Taking-cold had more power, so Buzzard asked him to go, but Taking-cold had merely to dispatch his wing tip. "Buzzard was like a shaman who cannot bring back a sick man's soul, because he was not swift enough to overtake it. So he might send a quick boy in his place."

Catukxo'tàs was the name of one of the twins of the Flute Lure tale (p. 373). The name of his son, the hero, kwiyăhuma'nà, identifies this song with Mohave Kwiya-humara. 533

Cottontail had been heard among Yavapai visitors. The cottontail and jackrabbit were sung about by shamans who dreamed. 533 756 [171]

[16] For the transcription of this and other songs recorded phonographically, see p. 271 f. [126]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 · NT15 River Yumans NT15

533 of them, but there was no local song named for them. Similarly
[756] Fox was the subject of a shaman's song, but there was no song bearing this name.

Deserted referred to a deserted house in which, traditionally, a man was lying when he heard bird spirits gathered there singing this song. These little birds (resembling meadowlarks) were called cikâtca'ʀâk (Mohave sakachieka).[17] For this song men
[534] and women sat, beating time with sticks on baskets.

Dragonfly may have been confounded with another song. The native term for the insect, ɣanavâʀe', also meant king, president (from Spanish *general-a*). A performance named "Moving the king around" is described in the section on dances. The song and performance were given only once, or at most a few times: the singer died.

Eagle was sung once or twice by a man who dreamed it and soon died. The Mohave name Ohwera was not recognized.

Enemy Standing bore the name of the scalp dance, a name taken from the practice of mounting the enemy scalp on a pole. It was used both in war and scalp dances. It was sung by ɣatisa'-lâ, an Halchidhoma chief, who dreamed of dead enemies returning to tell how they had been treated by the Maricopa. The song told how a father behaved when someone of his family was taken prisoner or killed.

Frog was sung "by everybody" for pleasure, but it brought
[821] rain because it told "all about" rain and wind. "The first part of the evening," she (Frog) told how she left her home (having killed the culture hero): continued how she was pursued and caused a storm to spring up behind her to hamper her pursuers.

Grebe (? "a kind of duck"), ɣaltau'p, was distinguished from loon (ɣalyâpu'kc) for which there was no local song (unlike Mohave). Grebe was sung infrequently, "when very happy"; probably not a shaman's song.

Hand Game: the song had the name of the game. Like the Mohave they considered this one of the song series. It was "sung
[524] by all the tribes here." They played the game every night. It consisted of only a few songs, indefinitely repeated; telling that

[17] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 787, n. 1.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

CURING AND BEWITCHING

753 761 787 Illness and death were occasioned in four ways: by bad dreams, by the loss of the soul, by the intrusion of a disease object brought about by witchcraft, and by natural causes, old age and violence.[35] The most common cause was bad dreaming: such disorders as bowel complaints, diarrhoea, colds, pains in the chest and side, were attributed to it. Loss of the soul was also [774] common, but less so: this brought fainting spells. Soul loss was due solely to having dreamed of the dead: dead relatives came to persuade the dreamer to join them. Since these two concepts cover practically all cases, Last Star's declaration was justified that "it was always by dreaming that one got sick."

753 787 Dreaming wrong meant dreaming of certain things, mostly unspecified, contact with which in the dream brought it about that one acquired an illness. These illnesses were forever afloat in the world around. They were the blood, the sum of all dis- [773] eases, which gushed from the ground at the time of creation despite Cipas' efforts to stem it (p. 347). Since bad dreams which caused illness were also defined as those of the evening and dawn, when the spirit birds fought and bloodstains were everywhere (p. 248), it seems probable that this ancient heritage of blood-disease was meant. The acquisition of such illness was not in any way due to spirits, whether by the spirits' own activity or a shaman calling on his familiar to inflict disease. Spirits were concerned only in that they had taught each shaman his cures.

756 The shaman's part in curing was that of one who had the power to draw out the particular illness, because a revelation had been made in his dreams. During the course of the cure he was not possessed, nor did he so much as call on his familiar for aid. [755] He blew, breathed, and sucked on the patient, and brushed with the hand, to allay the fever and pain and to draw the illness from him. But he did not suck out a disease object.

753 It is doubtful that this should be included with the classical

[762] [35] We may remark incidentally that our informants knew of no cases of suicide.

There was no belief comparable to that of the Pima that death was due to Sun and Night (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 193, 251).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma Mohave
Halchidhoma

753 787 [756] patient, his limbs twisted. This could be cured by a shaman who dreamed of either Coyote or Buzzard (the informant was uncertain).

[824] Another plant, called i'iuxa's, "scraped wood," caused chills and fever. The shaman never told in this connection of what he himself had dreamed. On diagnosing an illness as due to this cause he secretly dispatched a man of l,ew'c sib for ironwood (axpa'lg) in the morning. A limb was scraped and fashioned into [755] an image of the patient by this man, who at noon suddenly entered and held it close before the patient's eyes. When the latter saw it, he began to cry aloud. Then the shaman proceeded with his cure.[27]

The most dangerous thing of which to dream was kwarao'-kuma'clc, "iron eater." (kwarao' was the name formerly applied to the stone of which knife blades were made, presumably obsidian, now transferred to iron.) The informant knew nothing of this dream object but its name. This disease caused sores, which ate away the flesh and the bone below. A shaman who could cure [756] this had dreamed of a high pile of sand. When a hole is dug into the base of a pile of loose sand, the sand runs in as fast as one removes it. Hence the spirit (what it was is unknown) showed him how to stop it with his hand, which he then knew how to apply to the running sore.

115 756 Curing shamans were relatively few; five or six at any time. There is a question whether women were ever shamans. Last Star declared that there were none known among Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, although Mohave, Yuma, and Halchidhoma had them. Kutox's statement that at any one time there were one or two is probably to be interpreted as referring to the mixed community as a whole or to his own Halchidhoma group.[28]

755 The manner of calling a shaman to cure was stereotyped. An elderly man of the patient's family approached the shaman's house, calling him by the appropriate kinship term. He did not

[171] [27] This is reminiscent of Pima and Papago curing by touching effigies in the Vikita-Navitco complex.

[28] Last Star confirmed Russell's statement that the Pima women shamans specialized on abdominal diseases (*Pima Indians*, p. 261).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

hesitate to wake the shaman in this fashion if he went at night. The response was always by the women of the shaman's household, whereon the visitor told at once why he came. He told that the patient "needed help through the night or day, to see how he would get along. 'Whether you know just what the sickness is or not, we want you to take care of our whole family.'" The shaman never left at once with the petitioner, but came some time after.

Curing took place inside the dwelling. It was darkened, the fire put out, but the shaman "could see clearly as though it were daylight." The shaman did not approach the patient at once, but sat apart, while those of the household explained that the patient was very sick. When he seated himself beside the sick man, he felt all over the latter's body to find whether he suffered from fever, headache, or whatever. He never asked the patient for symptoms but discovered the cause of the illness for himself. He then proceeded to relieve him by brushing with his hand, blowing spittle and perhaps smoke on the patient, and sucking his body. He brushed with the side of his hand, back and forth, barely touching the sick man. Most of the brushing was directed toward the feet so as to avoid driving the sickness toward the heart. The sick man always lay with his head to the east, with the shaman south of him so that he could brush and press mostly with his left hand. Shamans maintained that they could always do better with that hand. (Last Star did not know their reason.) He breathed and sprayed with spittle "to give him his hot or cold breath," as needed to relieve chills or fever. He also sucked "to take out the fever," but did not suck out any disease object.[39]

Maricopa shamans used neither feathers for brushing nor a rattle when singing, as the Pima did. Yet the phrase "to sing to

[39] There are several references to sand as a magical curative agent in the myths of the Maricopa and other Yumans. The Anza documents describe its actual use more than once, e.g., Eixarch (1776) related that a Yuman shaman rubbed sand on a sick man's stomach (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, III, 377). Kroeber recorded it as a Mohave practice (*Handbook*, p. 777). My Maricopa informants had no knowledge of its use.

The Pima use of stone tablets found in ruins for curing was also not Maricopa (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 112, 266). Informants had no knowledge of these objects.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

cure" was translated by my interpreter into Maricopa as axna'l-mítce"vík, "gourd [rattle] singing."[30] This may be because they now call in Pima shamans.

Usually at a cure several old men sat beside the shaman to lend him their strength, but they did not sing.

Before the shaman began, he smoked two or three cigarettes or even four if the patient was very sick. He also stopped from time to time to smoke. "The shaman felt weak without his tobacco, like a man without food and water. He smoked to make himself feel strong." It is not clear that the shaman blew smoke over the sick man. Last Star did not mention it as part of the procedure and his statement that the shaman stopped to smoke implies otherwise. Kutox, on the other hand, said that he blew smoke over the patient's body, but did not describe it in his own cure, cited below. The tobacco used by shamans did not differ from that of the layman.

The shaman sang two songs or four over the patient when he knew he would recover. Only if the patient was seriously ill did the shaman begin singing from the first. "His songs were like prayers." He sang them to gain strength. These were songs he had learned in dreams and which he used only when curing; otherwise he kept them secret. The songs told how the spirit had taken him to the mountain tops to reveal the cures, but they did not describe this explicitly. In the course of his songs he named the disease and told the patient that "when he heard these songs he might get well."[31]

If, while singing, the shaman mentioned only things that were white (birds or whatever) and called the patient's breath white, the auditors were sure he would get well. But if he changed these references to black, the patient was doomed. On the fourth night (theoretically a shaman was given four nights to effect a cure), if

[30] Forde's Yuma informant, ascribing the use of a rattle to the Maricopa, was presumably mistaken (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 198).

[31] Informants had never heard of curing by the songs of animals diagnosed as causing the disease, as did the Pima; such causes being foreign to their belief. Possible exceptions were the singing of Blackbird song for sickness "caused by the deer" and the belief that rabbits caused illness and supplied its cure.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

the shaman saw the case was hopeless, he sang during the first half of the night to persuade the sick man not to go to the other world. He reminded him that all he owned was here. During the latter half of the night, toward morning, he "pushed him on," telling him that the other world was pleasant; there he would be as happy as were those who had preceded him. All this he told in song, not by oration.

A shaman ordinarily knew the cure for only a single sickness as taught him by one spirit; rarely he would know two or three, having been taught by various spirits. He would try for a day or two, and if he found he did not "know the sickness," he gave way to another. Theoretically he needed four nights to make the cure. Five or six shamans might be called before the patient was cured. A number of sick might gather to be cured at one time by a single shaman.

The fee was a horse, a native woven blanket, a small strip of woven cloth, or a string of beads; in later times a dollar a night. No mention of pay was made before he began: if he did not cure, he received no pay. Kutox stated that if he failed of a cure, he was nevertheless offered half the amount because he had tried, but the shaman would refuse.

One who had failed to cure might be accused of bewitching the patient and be killed. Undoubtedly had he accepted payment when he failed, they would be certain that he had bewitched for his own gain. In these cases the reaction was perhaps as automatic as that of the Mohave in taking vengeance on a shaman who failed: "they would give him no chance at all." Nevertheless, I was assured that the Maricopa did not kill an unsuccessful shaman whose efforts were believed to have been honest.[32]

The only instance of an actual cure I could obtain was unfortunately one in which the shaman was a Pima.

I [Kutox] have been cured several times; that is why I am old. Once I got so sick I did not know myself. I had a bad headache and felt nervous all over. I started off from the field where I was working. My house was a scant quarter mile away, but I could not reach it; I had to lie down. All day I stayed there in the shade, until late in the evening they took me home. They sent for a Pima

[32] This seems also to have been the Mohave attitude (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 778).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

the spot where the dead had come and taken the soul, he had chills if they had gone by the south road. He continued circling until by the fourth circuit the patient's house was reached. Should he fail to find signs of the lost soul, he was certain that it must be halfway to the land of the dead. He then quickly rolled his cigarettes and puffed them into the air. By this means, he sent a flame after them. When they, the dead, saw the flame following, "just like blood coming over," they left the soul and ran off. But they always tried to put the patient's soul in front of them, and told it not to look back. If it did so and saw the flames following, the patient recovered consciousness. "Then they [humans] ask him and he tells what happened."

Curing shamans accompanied war parties to exercise their art. One named wantcâvari' (Juan Chevereah)[33] dreamed how to cure those who were shot, "so they always took him along to war." He dreamed of Buzzard, Duck (a particular species?, ωķ'ωķ), and Gnat (? unyĭpâwa'pâwa'). When a warrior fell shot, he sang, moving about him with arms and legs stiff. He could cure arrow wounds only. Another Maricopa could cure not only these, but gun, spear, and knife wounds. "He also dreamed of these three spirits, but got more power."

Bewitching was a practice open to shamans, not to everyone. These were shamans, I was told, who had dreamed especially of Frog and Orion's Belt. But a conflicting statement suggests that bewitching was not confined to them. "All shamans could bewitch (matâðau'g). The spirit gives the shaman the choice of curing or bewitching, but the spirit tells him that he will not live long if he chooses the latter." Again, "a man who bewitched others would never try to cure. He would always try to bewitch." The truth seems to be that all shamans made only a partial choice.

The reason assigned for bewitching was jealousy. A handsome person or one who was prosperous was commonly the subject of witchcraft, thought Kutox, who was forever boasting how handsome he had been in his earlier days.

[33] Named as a Maricopa chief by the Mohave and the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

the red gum of a medicinal plant and that which exudes at the base of arrowweeds, melting it in a potsherd. Two runners would stand, and at a signal, would each kick off their balls, racing with them to a selected point and back. It was thrown with the foot; the toes shoveled under it in the manner of the Pueblo kicking-stick, not kicked along the ground.

Kicking race contests with the Pima were frequent: several of them were noted in the annals (p. 141). Each tribe selected its best runner and bet heavily on him. Each was assisted by a good runner who was sent ahead, armed with a stick, before they started. The ball might be kicked off into the bushes, when the helper, who ran ahead of the racer, could strike it back into the path. These helpers would run only halfway to the distant point, rarely the whole distance. The losing tribe would always be the challenger to the next race, which was held at the victors' village.

Magic was freely used to thwart the opposing racer: as they said, this was the time people found out who were shamans.

The Pima shamans would do things to our racer. For instance, one of them would secretly sprinkle a reed full of water on the Maricopa racer before the race started "in order to drown him" so that he could not run. Or they would run ahead of him and draw a line across his path, so that he would imagine it a deep canyon which he could not cross. One of our men would clear it away by pulling a string across the line as though making a bridge. Both sides did this sort of thing to the other.

Recently a Maricopa shaman, Buffalo Bill, drew a line before the runners: "he dragged that mountain [Sierra Estrella] across there." The Maricopa racer got by, but when the Pima came up, he stood stock still: he did not know what to do. The Pima took him around the "mountain," i.e., the line, so he could race on.

A Maricopa racer told what happened to him. He was ahead of the Pima racer. Every time the latter came abreast of him, the Pima racer breathed hard. Then the Maricopa felt out of breath, as though his chest would burst, although he had not run far. A Pima bystander laid a switch lightly against the small of this Maricopa's back. He felt it as a big log: he could hardly move. Then the Pima on horses rode with their runner, while the Maricopa runner, trailing behind, just walked along. When the others saw this, a Maricopa shaman spurred up and switched him twice with a rope, whereon he found he could burst into top-speed. The Pima were so sure that they were winning that they started to take the Maricopa stakes, when the Maricopa runner dashed up and won the race.

Relay races were held, on which they bet. These were called ma'takovàk,i'wŭm. Runners of each side were posted at two points between which they ran. Maricopa runners did not wear

/83 cont./

765 baskets of grain on their heads. In passing around the third time, the women throw the grain upon the pyre. The fire is then kindled, and everyone wails as long as it continues to burn.

The medicine-men, like those of other Yuman tribes, 756 [787] claim, and fully believe, that through dreams they have acquired the divine gift of healing disease. In their treatment of 755 a patient two eagle feathers are held in the right hand and a gourd rattle in the left. The feathers are waved over the body to drive the evil from the head to the feet, for sickness is believed to pervade the whole body, not merely a portion of it. Alternating with the feathers the rattle is used to accompany the singing. While waving the feathers the medicine-man blows across the patient's body, to drive away the evil spirits. At [533] intervals he recounts in a falsetto chant the story of the dreams through which he received his power. The songs last all night, and the treatment usually continues for four nights, but may be shortened if the patient recovers, or extended if the case de- 787 mands it. The Maricopa attach much the same importance to dreams as do the Mohave. So great is their faith in the revelations derived from them that to wish a friend "good luck" in the Maricopa language one must say /84/ "good dreams"—sümashnhót. An exemplification of the nature of the supernatural 756 787 159 instruction claimed by the doctors is given in the following narration of the head medicine-man of the Maricopa:

"One night when I was a boy about five years of age, Tinyám, the Darkness, came to me in the form of a man, and said, 'Gosee!' I went to the north and there saw a great many people. Darkness showed me the whole earth and the names of the different mountains. Then Buzzard came for me. He took me straight down to where the animal people were, and called to them, 'Look at this boy and have a good feeling for him; give him dreams, that he may cure the sick and make his people well.' So every kind of bird gave me a dream and strength. Kapít, the Turtle, sat down beside a sick man and breathed upon him. Soon the sick man began to breathe regularly. Then Kapít told me to try this, and I did as he had done. When the animal people saw this, they wept for joy; and Buzzard said, 'That will be enough here; I shall take you to another place.'

/84 cont./

159
756
787

"So he took me a little way and told me to look at a distant house in which lived Little Cricket. When we came to the house, Hayún, the Cricket, was in bed. Buzzard awakened him, saying, 'Cricket, look at this little boy; give him some dreams and show him how to heal sick people.' 'Good!' exclaimed Hayún; 'bring him in and I shall show him how I cure.' We entered, and Cricket said, 'Now, Boy, it is night, but you see that my house is light. You are the only person who has come to my home, and I am glad to welcome you. I shall show you how to heal the sick.' As he sat there it was light as day, because of his eagle feathers. He stroked his own body and then mine with the feathers, thus imparting his power to me. And Buzzard said it was well. 'Now,' said Cricket, 'I have given you my strength, which you are to use. When a sick man is lying down, use these feathers as I have shown you, and there will be light on the sick man and not the darkness of disease. You will see the sickness and drive it away.'

/85/ "Buzzard then took me to a mountain, saying, 'Qastamhaíkuš, the Little Lizard, lives here, and he also will give you power. You cannot see him now, but when we enter his house you will see a famous man of great power.' He led me in, and I saw Lizard. 'Look at this boy,' said Buzzard, 'and give him medicine power. Give him no evil power, only good, as many others have done.' 'Very well,' said Lizard, 'he is a fine boy and I shall do as you ask.' So saying, he made an image of a sick man and laid it down. There we three sat, I beside Lizard, looking at the image while Lizard was using his power. Then he said, 'You try to do this.' So I sat down and did the same as he had done, and when I had finished, he put the feathers on my hand, giving it the power of the feathers.

"Next we went down to the ocean, where we found Hailkotát, a sea monster. I looked at the creature, but I did not know him. Hailkotát said, 'You are a good boy. This is the first time anyone has come here, and for your bravery I shall reward you with my power.' 'You must give him only good power,' said Buzzard. Then Hailkotát took his feathers, blew upon my body and gave me his strength. When he had finished, he said, 'Now,

/85 cont./

159 Boy, you must never do evil things; use this power well.' 'What
● 756 can he do with a sick person?' asked Buzzard. 'He will heal
787 various diseases, for I shall give him strength of two kinds.'
He blew upon my body from the middle to the head and from the middle to the feet, thus giving both kinds of power for curing all illness. Buzzard then took me to my home, and my parents knew not of my absence. They thought I had been sleeping in my bed. But my body only was in bed while my spirit was making these journeys. I kept these things to myself, and when I grew older and saw a man dying of sickness with no one to help him, I thought it time to use my medicine power. Everybody knew then that I was a medicine-man."

/86/ Creation Myth

The Earth was the mother and the Sky the father. Two
773 children, yet unborn, moved westward under the earth, seeking the place whence they were to issue, but they did not find it. Then they moved east, south, and north, and at last found the place. The first to be born was Thoshipá. Kokomát soon followed, first having called to the other to know if he had come out with his eyes open or shut. "With my eyes open," answered Thoshipá falsely. So Kokomát came forth with his eyes open, and the salt water running into them made him blind; for the earth was then covered with water.

As soon as they were born, they began to sing of what they were to do. Thoshipá cut the hair from his temples and twisted a little rope, which he laid before him; immediately the water dried up, leaving a vast expanse of mud, so the creator made ants, which bored holes and brought up dry earth. Then the two brothers decided it was time to make human beings. Said Kokomát, "We will stand back to back, I to the west and you to the east, and make men." So they did. After a while Thoshipá asked, "In what form are you creating men?" When Kokomát exhibited his creatures, Thoshipá discovered that they had webbed hands and other deformities, and he objected. "Men must not have webbed hands," said he, "for they will need fingers to point with and to